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22. History of Kāśmīr.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HASAN, THE HISTORIAN OF KĀŚMĪR.

Moulvi Hasan Sah was born at a village called Gámru, a mile to the south east of Bandipur in Kāśmīr, in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.) and died at the same village in 1316 A.H. (1898 A.D.) at the age of 66 years. He came of a family of Pirs or Muhammadan priests, distinguished in Persian and Arabic learning. His seventh ancestor was a Kāśmīri Brahman, named Ganeś Koul, who became a convert to Islām, being named Sekh Gāzi-ud-din. This man's eldest son, Sekh Yáqúb, was a scholar of much renown and was, therefore, taken in the court of the Mogul Emperor, Shāh-i-Jahán. Hasan Sah's father, Moulvi Gulám Rasúl, wrote four books in Persian poetry, called *Majmua Seva*, *Risála Turja*, '*Ajib Manzar*, and *Karámát-i-Auliá*. The father taught his son Persian and Arabic and made him as much accomplished in these languages as he himself was. Hasan also learnt the Greek system of medicine from other teachers which he practised until the closing years of his age.

In 1875-78 A.D. occurred a terrible famine in Kāśmīr whose ravages assumed appalling proportions. Hasan wrote out a pamphlet in Persian verse in which he described the true character of the calamity and made certain sensible suggestions for the improvement of the situation. He sent this pamphlet to Diwán Anant Rám, the then Prime Minister, to be presented to His Highness the late Mahārāja Ranbir Singh who was at that time at Jammu. The Mahārāja conferred a Khilat of honour upon Hasan as a mark of recognition of his literary merits.

After this, Hasan wrote three books in Persian and Kāśmīrī mixed, which are greatly admired by the public. Their names are—*Gulistán-i-Ikhlāq*, *Kharīta Asrār*, and '*Ajāz-i-Garība*. He once went to Ráwalpindi and there came to know that there was a Persian History of Kāśmīr written by Mula Ahmad at a village called Pindori in the Ráwalpindi district in the possession of a man named Mulah Muhmúd. This History is a very rare book. It is said to be the translation of an ancient book called Ratnākar Purána containing the accounts of thirty-five kings who ruled in Kāśmīr five thousand years ago, and also of seven kings who ruled in Kāśmīr from the end of second to the beginning of sixth century of Christian era, which accounts were lost to history. Ratnākar Purána had been discovered in

the time of Zain-ul-ábdin who reigned in Kāśmīr from 1422 to 1474 A.D., and under his orders Mulah Ahmad, the poet laureate of his court, translated it into Persian. Ratnākar Purāna is now again untraceable, and on this account the above-mentioned translation is of immense importance.

Hasan went to Pindori and took a copy of this History. Returning to Kāśmīr he wrote a History of Kāśmīr of his own, in which he embodied the important facts he had found in Mulah Ahmad's History of Kāśmīr. This copy of Mulah Ahmad's History was subsequently lost by him in a flood in which his boat capsized, he being thrown into water together with the book and rescued but alas! without the book.

In 1902 A.D. the Kāśmīr Durbar tried to secure a copy of Mulah Ahmad's History, but Mulah Mahmūd, from whom Hasan had got his copy, had since died and his family had removed to Kabul at the invitation of His Majesty the late Amir Abdul Rahmán Khán.

Hasan gave a subtle touch of humour mingled with cunningness to his deeds as a priest. One or two anecdotes might be mentioned. Once a woman told him that her mother-in-law was often quarrelling with her, and asked for a charm so that the quarrels might cease. Hasan gave her a charm, enjoining upon her that whenever her mother-in-law would begin to utter harsh words to her she should at once put the charm under her own teeth and press it hard. The Pir's instructions were faithfully followed. The daughter-in-law having the charm pressed under her teeth could not open her mouth to remonstrate with her mother-in-law for her vituperations and the latter's fury would consequently at once abate. The result was that there was soon peace between them. The simple woman ascribed this change not to her own silence, but to the efficacy of the charm, for which she came to the Pir and thanked him. Another time a woman told him that whenever she sat down to spin, it would happen that she had to go away to do some other more urgent work and she, therefore, requested to be given a charm in order that she might keep herself busy with her spinning wheel. The Pir gave her a charm with a thin thread attached to either end of it, enjoining upon her to tie it up with her own toe on one side and with the spinning wheel on the other, whenever she went to spin, taking care that the thread would not break. The result was that she thought of nothing but the thread which the Pir had said must not break, and the consequence was that her thoughts became concentrated and she forgot everything else while spinning. The ignorant woman ascribed all this to the wonderful efficacy of the charm and had firmer faith in the Pir.

Sir W. R. Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner of the Kāśmīr State, was supplied by Hasan with much historical

information and was also taught the Kāśmīrī language by him. In page 454 of his *Valley of Kashmir* Sir Walter thus expresses his gratefulness to the man:—

“What else (Kāśmīrī language) I have learnt, I owe to Pir Hasan Sāh, a learned Kāśmīrī, whose work has entirely been among the villagers.”

When Sir Walter became Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy he sent an invitation through the Resident in Kāśmīr asking Hasan to come to Simla to be presented to His Excellency, but the invitation came too late, as Hasan had died just a few days before.

Hasan had only one son, named Gulām Muhammad Ali, who died in 1311 A.H. (1893 A.D.) in his 35th year of age, leaving two sons, named Gulām Mustafa and Gulām Muhammad Sa'id, behind. These are now at their native village engaged in their hereditary occupation of priesthood of a large number of Muhammadans, and are also doing agriculture.

In Part II, Chapter I of my paper on the History of Kāśmīr published in this Journal for April 1910, I stated that Kalhaṇa had written in his *Rājatarāṅginī* that the reign of king Raṇāditya extended over 300 years. It is needless to remark that attributing such a longevity to a human being is simply extravagant. It was evidently intended to cover a great break of which no record of the succession of kings was forthcoming in the time of Kalhaṇa. Even an orthodox Hindu will shake his head on hearing it, remembering that in this Kaliyuga age the span of man's life is only 120 years, beyond which even the incarnation of Viṣṇu, i.e. Kṛiṣṇa, could not live.

Hasan, the author of the Persian History of Kāśmīr, however, says that Raṇāditya reigned for only 60 years and 3 months, which of course seems probable, and seven kings ruled, six preceding and one following him, whose accounts have been omitted in the *Rājatarāṅginī*. According to this author this period extended over not 300 years but 329 years and 5 months. He has given the names as well as the accounts of the rule of these seven kings, one of whom is Vainya-ditya, who, though not mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, is well remembered even to the present day by every household in Kāśmīr as to have been an extremely good and virtuous ruler. His name has descended down from generation to generation and his fame in Kāśmīr has equalled, if not excelled, that of Vikramāditya of Ujain. There occurs in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (Book V. 97-100) a temple by the name of Vainyā-svāmin about whose founder no mention is made therein anywhere, but it proves that there was a king of the name of

Vainyāditya who had built it. Hasan derives his authority from the Persian translation of the Ratnākar Purāna which Zain-ul-ābdin, who reigned in Kāśmīr from 1422 to 1474 A.D., had got prepared from Mulaḥ Ahmaḍ, the poet-laureate of his court. I have already attempted to discuss the reliability of Hasan's History in the above-mentioned paper and it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

So this is the second gap in the Rājatarāṅginī. The first is for a period for which Kalhaṇa stated that he could not get the accounts of thirty-five kings who had ruled during it, which accounts, however, I have given from Hasan's Persian History in the above-mentioned paper. Need I say how important it is to the historians to find this second gap also filled up? I, therefore, give in the following pages the accounts of the kings who ruled during the above period, of which, as I have stated above, 300 years are incorrectly ascribed to only one king (Raṇāditya) by Kalhaṇa.

Tuñjīna—191-234 A.D.

Tuñjīna was the second son of Yudhiṣṭhira and after the death of his brother, Narendrāditya, proclaimed himself King of Kāśmīr. Narendrāditya had a son named Śradwal whom Tuñjīna appointed as his minister. In course of time they fell out with each other and the result was that Śradwal was murdered. Śradwal left a son named Sarabsena, seven years old, and this poor helpless boy, out of fear of Tuñjīna, escaped with his mother to Nagarkot. The chief of Nagarkot was glad to have him, and he subsequently gave him his own daughter in marriage. When he attained majority, he collected some troops and also obtained help from the chief of Jammu and then set off *via* Bānihāl to make war with Tuñjīna. Tuñjīna went out to Bānihāl to fight with him but was killed in the battle.

Tuñjīna's reign extended over 43 years.

Sarabsena—234-82 A.D.

After Tuñjīna, Sarabsena ascended the throne. He established order and good government throughout the country and recovered all the countries conquered by Pravarasena II, which had, after his death, become independent chiefships. He went to India twice and invaded and conquered many countries. His queen was the daughter of the King of Kanauj. He built a temple of Bhutesvara at Vicārnāg (the northern suburb of Srinagar).

Sarabsena died after reigning for 48 years.

Gandharbsena—282-319 A.D.

Gandharbsena, son of Sarabsena, now sat on the throne. His reign was marked with slothfulness diversified with cruelty.

Taking advantage of his weak rule, the Chiefs in India, who were considering themselves under the suzerainty of the King of Kāśmīr, shook off his control. It is said he had brought a dancing girl from India, and was passing day and night in her company. Consequently the government fell into disorder.

Lachman, grandson of Tuñjina, was then a Jagir-holder at Dachinpor. He took the opportunity, and coming with some troops laid siege to the palace. For seven days the struggle continued. The king's troops, who had become disgusted with his conduct, went over to the intruder's quarters and then the king had to surrender. Lachman captivated him and took possession of the kingdom.

Gandharbsena ruled for 37 years.

Lachman—319-52 A.D.

Lachman ascended the throne in 319 A.D. and ruled well, checking the tide of extortion and misgovernment. The Chieftains of the distant parts of Kāśmīr, who had revolted in the time of his predecessor, were brought again to submission by him. The Chief of Multān, named Sukaram Pāl, had rebelled and he marched with his troops to subdue him. When he arrived in the Panjāb, a mishap occurred. He was sleeping under a tree with a red handkerchief spread over his face. An eagle taking it to be a piece of flesh pounced upon him. Its sharp talons pricked down through the handkerchief right into the king's eyes and pulled them out. The king had a very severe pain and in three days died.

He reigned for 32 years and 6 months.

Sūrak—352-403 A.D.

Lachman's brother, named Sūrak, succeeded him. He completed the expedition successfully which his predecessor had commenced. Sukaram Pāl, Chief of Multān, retired into a fort and held out for one month, but ultimately made peace, agreeing to pay a tribute to Sūrak. After this the victorious king returned to Kāśmīr.

Later on, a chief, Dārdū by name, rebelled and coming into the Kāmraj plundered the villages. Sūrak with his troops went out to oppose him and Dārdū together with his men retreated and fled away into the hills, but Sūrak pursued them. He went too far without circumspection until Dārdū's men entrapped him and his force between two hills and cut off their supplies. They also rolled down stones from the hills upon them and killed all the troops. The king was taken prisoner and detained in a fort at Paṭṭan.

Vajrāditya was the son of king Lachman. He went with a force to get his uncle released. He first marched over the

country of Dārdū, sacked it and massacred its inhabitants and then came to Pattān and took the fort by storm but too late, as just at his approach the enemy cut off the head of Sūrak and threw it down over the walls of the fort.

Sūrak's reign extended over 51 years.

Vajrāditya—403-14 A.D.

Vajrāditya ascended the throne in the year 403 A.D. He had, however, to contend with the son of Sūrak named Jayendra. They fought in the Marāj Division for one year without either of them getting vanquished. At last Vajrāditya accomplished his purpose in a particularly cruel and treacherous manner. He negotiated and made peace with his foe and when the latter came over to his camp, he basely murdered him. Jayendra's troops got frantic and indignant at this treachery and fought with Vajrāditya until 10,000 troops were lost on both sides. Vajrāditya, however, won the field and returned to his capital. He was a good ruler. He built many temples and repaired Vijajeshvare temple. In his time the grains were very cheap, husked rice selling at 8 pice a *Kharvār* (96 seers). He reigned for 10 years and 8 months.

Raṇāditya—414-74 A.D.

Raṇāditya succeeded his father in 414 A.D. He was a glorious king,—powerful, just, generous and good. His head was formed like a shell. He had a beautiful queen named Raṇa-rambhā. There is a legend that he was in his former birth a gambler. Having lost all his property in gambling and then being disgusted with himself, he desired to see the goddess Bhramara-vāsini on the Vindhyā mountain, to obtain from her the boon of feeling indifferent to his own life. But the way to the place being infested with stinging bees and other insects, he, to protect himself, first covered his body with a metal armour, over which he put on a buffalo hide and over it again a plaster of clay mixed with cow-dung. He then set off, reaching his destination quite emaciated by the long and difficult journey and tormented with the stings of bees which had pierced even through his strong coverings. The goddess touched him and he was restored to his strength. The goddess then disappeared and presently a beautiful maiden was seen by him near by. The woman compassionately spoke to him that he had taken so much pains to come up to this difficult place and told him to ask for a boon. He was charmed with her beauty and said to her that the boon he would ask for was that she should become his wife. The woman said she was no other but the goddess Bhramara-vāsini and could not be a wife to a mortal. But he insisted that he would ask for no other boon, and if she

was to keep her word she should accede to his request. She then told him that it would be so in another birth. After this he committed suicide by throwing himself down from a tree at Prayāga (the junction of the Sindh river with the Jhelum near Śādipur) in the hope of taking a fresh birth in union with the goddess. He was born as Raṇāditya and she as Raṇā-rambhā. The latter was found floating in the ocean by the king of the Cholas (Tanjore) named Ratisena, who picked her up and nourished her. When she was grown up, several kings asked for her hand but Ratisena would not consent. Raṇāditya also sent his minister for this girl and Ratisena was about to give his refusal when Rāṇa-rambhā declared to him that this king should be her husband. She then related to him the whole story of her origin and thereupon Ratisena sent her to the residence of one of his friends, the king of Kuluṭa (Kulu) where the nuptials were to be celebrated. Raṇāditya went to Kulu and married her. As she could not touch a mortal, she never touched him. She used to deceive the king by keeping in bed a phantom woman resembling herself and would herself go out at night in the form of a bee.

Raṇāditya built two temples to the west of the Hari-Parbat hill in his own name and in that of his queen, and had two Śivalingas made for them. One day was remaining to the date fixed for their consecration when an astrologer, who had arrived from abroad, said that both these Liṅgas were hollow containing broken pieces of stones and frogs. The date of consecration being so near, new Liṅgas could not be prepared in time and the king, therefore, fell into much anxiety, not knowing what to do. At that time the queen spoke to him—"At the marriage of Śiva with Pārvati, Prajāpati officiated as priest and he brought the image of Viṣṇu for being worshipped by the bridegroom. When Śiva saw this image he considered it valueless as it represented Śakti alone without Śiva. Śiva then put together into a lump all the jewels brought as marriage presents by gods and Asuras and moulded them into a Liṅga. This Liṅga and that image of Viṣṇu came afterwards in the hands of Rāvana who used to worship them at Laṅkā (Ceylon) and after his being killed by Rāma were carried away by the monkeys to the Himālayas. These beasts after satisfying their curiosity dropped them into the Uttara-mānasa (Gangabal) lake." The queen further said—"I have already had these brought out of the lake and to-morrow you will see them here in this palace, and they may be consecrated in the two new temples." The queen retiring to her apartments expressed her thoughts to demigods, and they at her bidding at once went and brought the two images at the palace.

Next morning the king's happiness knew no bounds to see them come just in time, and he began first to consecrate the Raṇesvara Śiva-liṅga when the image of Raṇāsvāmin, through

the power of *Ranā-rambhā*, seated itself miraculously on the *pīṭha*. The queen offered her property to the latter image, and several villages were presented to it by other worshippers.

It is said there was a water-carrier, named *Brahma*, who in reality was a *Siddha*, and the queen knowing his true worth made him consecrate the two images. Having been recognized by the people, he moved through the air after consecrating the *Raṇ-eśvara* *Līṅga* and consecrated the *Raṇāsvāmin* secretly. The queen erected a grand hall in honour of this *Siddha* which she called *Brahma-maṇḍapa*.

Raṇāditya and his queen also built the temples of *Raṇā-rambhā-svāmin* and *Raṇā-rambhā-deva* and a *Maṭha* for mendicants on the *Hari Parbat* hill, probably on its southern side, which gave *Raināvari* (eastern suburb of *Srinagar*) its name. The king also established a hospital for the sick and suffering poor, in order to ward off a danger threatening his another queen, *Sena-mukhi*. He erected a temple of *Mārtanda* (*Sun*) at the village of *Simha-rotsika* which he called *Raṇapura-svāmin*. The modern name of *Simha-rotsika* is *Sumra-bug* village near *Pāntachuk* (5 miles from *Srinagar* on the *Anant-nāg* road) on the left bank of the *Vitastā*. At *Pāntachuk* is the *Kurukṣetra* pilgrimage where *Hindus* go to bathe on the occasion of solar eclipse. Another queen of his, *Amṛita-prabhā*, built the shrine of *Amṛt-eśvara* on the right side of *Raṇeśa*. She also placed an image of *Buddha* in the *Vihāra* built by *Bhinna*, one of the wives of king *Megha-vāhana*.

Raṇā-rambhā had given the king a magic spell, called *Hātakeśvara*, which gave him command over the *Netherlands*. The king performed severe austerities at *Iṣṭikā-patha* (*Rāma-rādan* from which the ascent to the *Gangabal* pilgrimage begins) and then went to *Nandi-śilā* (*Nund-kol* lake). Afterwards he entered the cave of *Namuchi* (*Namcibal*, near the 3rd bridge in *Srinagar*) together with his retinue. There he remained in company with a *Daityā* woman and never came out. Meanwhile *Raṇā-rambhā* went away to *Śveta-dvīpa* (*White Island*), probably the small island called *Rupalank* or *Silver Island* in the *Dal* lake.

Raṇāditya's rule lasted 60 years and 3 months.

Vainyāditya—474-521 A.D.

Vainyāditya sat on the throne of his father, *Raṇāditya*, in 474 A.D.

He went, when yet a boy eleven years old, to visit different countries in *India* in company with his uncle, *Maṅgalāditya*. After visiting various places of worship he went to the *Śivālik* mountains where he saw a recluse, named *Ganapat*, who had been living in a cave since 100 years. *Vainyāditya* remained with him, and, under his guidance, practised penances for

[N.S.]

twelve years, taking no food except a cup of milk each day. He became a perfect ascetic and after twenty years returned to Kāśmīr at the bidding of his spiritual guide. Here he stayed for one year in the Jīsteśvara temple on the top of the Takht-i-Sulemān hill.

When Raṇāditya retired into the cave of Namcibal, the courtiers approached Vainyāditya and requested him to sit on the throne, but he declined. Thereupon all the people swarmed round him, and at last, to avoid disappointing them, he accepted their offer but, before doing so, took pledge from them that in his time they should never tell a lie; should never break a promise; should cause no gratuitous injury; should abstain from unlawful means of gain; and should never kill a living creature. He then came down the hill and at Gagribal built an abode for himself near which two vaults were constructed. In one of these vaults the revenue of the Marāj Division and in the other that of the Kāmraj Division was to be deposited. He then issued an edict to the effect that villagers should themselves come at the end of a year and deliver the value of the tenth part of their produce into their respective vaults, and brought the whole revenue-collecting staff under reduction. The villagers were thus eased of all official interference. He appointed his brother, named Vikramāditya, as Commander-in-Chief and kept the key of the Kāmraj Treasury vault with him. At the end of each month he used to open the treasury and disburse pay to the troops and other employees. Whatever money from miscellaneous sources was collected by day was distributed among the poor in the evening, nothing being left for the morrow. For his own subsistence he used to cultivate himself a piece of land and out of it the value of the tenth part was, like other cultivators, given to the treasury as government share. Till the end of his reign every cultivator used to pay his dues himself, and anyone failing to do so somehow came to grief. Anyone taking what did not legitimately belong to him suffered in some way or other; and anybody attempting to steal got his hand withered. Under these halcyon state of affairs none had any trouble. Being an ascetic himself, whatever he would utter at the riverside, would happen at once. Any person committing an offence got punishment by his curse. All his life through he wore a quilt like a fakīr, and never tasted flesh meat. He built the temple of Vainyā-svāmin at Trīgām at the confluence of Sindh with the Vitasta.

This noblest and purest of Kāśmīr kings died after 47 years' peaceful and happy rule.

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17. History of Kashmir.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

PART I.—PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD.

The Nilamata Purána says that Kashyapa had two wives, Kadru and Vinata, the former being the mother of snakes and the latter that of birds, and they used often to quarrel with each other for supremacy. Ultimately it was decided among them that their supremacy should be decided in a wager, i.e., whoever lost it should become the slave of the other. The wager took the following form: A horse was brought and Vinata was asked the colour of the animal by Kadru. Vinata said it was white, as it really was, whereupon Kadru got her sons, the snakes, to cover the horse with themselves so that it might look black. After this it was brought closer and Vinata was again asked to say what its colour was. Vinata had to say then that it was black. As this showed a failure on the part of Vinata, the wager is said to have been won by Kadru, who claimed her right over Vinata as to become her maid-servant. After this Kadru used Vinata as a conveyance, riding her in a horse fashion. The sons of Vinata were also treated in the same manner by the sons of Kadru. Kadru said if Vinata's sons brought Amrita, she and her children would be released from this bondage. Garuda, son of Vinata, brought some Amrita and gave it to Kadru, whereupon both the mother and her children were released of the bondage. To retaliate the ill-treatment, Garuda began to eat up all the snakes that came by his way.¹

Básuki, a son of Kadru, invoked the aid of Vishnu who used to be carried by Garuda, so that the latter would desist from the above practice. Vishnu advised Básuki to go to a place called Satisar, which was principally inhabited by Shiva, and thereby avoid Garuda. He was further advised in migrating thus to choose Nilanág, the most intelligent of them, as their king. Thereupon Nilanág and Básuki with many others came to Satisar to live there permanently. Nilanág chose a place which was then called Veri and now called Verinág. Another version is that the place chosen by him was the spring in the Nágám Purganah which is even now called Nilanág.

The word Nág means both a spring and a snake. All springs in Kashmir are associated with a presiding snake. It

¹ See also Mahábhárata, Ádi Parva, sections xvi to xxxvii.

is commonly believed that by removing the snake the water can be made to disappear.

Indra and his wife, Indráni, once came to Satisar for a pleasure trip, where a demon, named Somagreh, became enamoured with Indráni and ran after her. Indra, however, killed him. While the demon was excited his *virus* fell in the water which was tended by the snakes, the result being Jalodbava, which name means "produced from water." This Jalodbava began to eat up men living on the banks of Satisar.

According to Vijayeshvara Mahátma the extent of Kashmir under water when it was known by the name of Satisar (Sati meaning Párvati and Sar, lake) was 24 kos long and 12 kos wide. The Nilamata Purána says that the places inhabited were Kon-sarbal (in Deosar) and Harmukh (in Lár), the rest being under water. Both these mountains are very high.

Kashyapa Muni came from the Deccan on a pilgrimage. Hearing of this, his son, Nilanág (snake), went to receive him at Kon Khel, a place near Hardwár. Nilanág asked Kashyapa to visit Vishnupád (in Deosar), a holy place. The first place in Kashmir they reached was Maddar Desh, now known as Moh in Deosar. The father asked the son the reason of there being no habitations. The son said that Jalodbava, son of Somagreh, was the cause of depopulation and that he did not pay any attention to his request to desist from doing so. The son asked for his father's help in this. After bathing in Vishnupád, so called up to the present time, Kashyapa with his son, Nilanág, went to Brahma-loka, where were present Vishnu and Shiva, and complained to them about Jalodbava having depopulated the place. The three, *i.e.*, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, with Kashyapa and his son, thereupon agreed to come to the spot and do something to prevent the cause of complaint. They all came to a place called Náo Bandan (a place still so called in Deosar). Jalodbava, fearing some mischief, hid himself under water. His exit was looked for by Brahma and others with a view to kill him, but without any result. Ananta, an incarnation of Vishnu, followed and produced a chasm in the mountains near Báramulla to let out the water. After the water was let out, Jalodbava was seen. He, however, caused darkness to come over the country, whereupon Vishnu took the Sun and Moon in his hands and thereby caused the darkness to disappear. Jalodbava was again seen and his head was cut off by Vishnu. After this Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and Ananta went back to their respective abodes.

There is, however, another story in the shape of a traditional legend as to the extinction of Jalodbava. After letting out of water as mentioned before, Jalodbava hid himself in a place which was a hollow having water in it. On this Kashyapa invoked the aid of Durga, who taking the form of a *Miná* went to the Sumira mountain and brought a portion of it

in her beak and threw it over the hollow and thereby killed Jalodbava. The present Hari Parbat near the Dal lake is said to be the place referred to above, and the hill now standing thereon is said to be the supposed portion of the Sumira brought by Durga. This hill is also called Sumira even now. The name Hari is said to have come from Shári (*Miná*), *Sha* being often replaced by *Ha* in Kashmiri language.

Kashyapa, seeing that the place had been cleared of water, prayed to Vishnu that the place be inhabited by *devas*, men and *Nágs*. Vishnu gave the permission, whereupon Kashyapa got Brahmans from the Deccan (South) to migrate here. From this time Kashmir was called Kashyappur or Kashyapmar, and latterly Kashmir.

The name "Kashmir" also implies "land desiccated from water," from Sanskrit *Ka* water, *Shimira* to desiccate, so called because the valley of Kashmir was in the beginning, as stated above, a mountain-lake subsequently drained.

In Sanskrit Puránas, Kashmir is also called *Gerek* (hill), nestled as it is in mountains. In Chapter VIII of Avánádikosha, the meaning of the word Kashmir is given "land, ruling in which is difficult."

Kashmir has further been shortened into Kashir by the Kashmiris in their own tongue. The Tibetans call it Kha-chal (snowy mountain) and the Dards (the inhabitants of Gures, etc.) Kashrat.

The Vijayeshvara Mahátma says that at this time the country was said to have consisted of 66,063 villages commencing from Buta Shahr to Chamba. In the Kashmiri language a unit is called hundred; a hundred, thousand and so forth; and according to this the figure 66,063 would shrink down to 6,063, which looks correct. The people, however, were being oppressed by other demons. They used to live in it in summer and pursued agriculture in the fertile valley; but in winter, for fear of cold and snow and of the demons, they used to return to other parts. In one of these annual exodus, an old Brahman, named Chandardeva, who could not return to India on account of old age, stayed in Kashmir, hiding himself in a cave. He had his provisions and other necessities for winter with him. When snow began to fall, the demons came in hoards and two of them dragged Chandardeva out of the cave and took him to Nilanág spring where they tossed him about like a ball, in course of which the old man fell down into the spring and sank down to the bottom which he found to be a vast place and where he saw a king sitting on a throne in a grand palace. The Brahman approached him and complained to him of the trouble given by the demons. The king was Nilanág himself. He took pity on the old man and, calling him nearer, handed over to him a book called Nilamata Purána and advised him to give offerings to demons at certain holy places on certain days as detailed in that book, so that the people

coming to live in Kashmir would no more be troubled by the demons. At the approach of spring the Brahman was pushed out of the water upon the dry bank of the Nilanág spring. Men, who returned as usual from India, were astonished to find the old man safe and sound whom they had thought dead long ago. They heard with much amazement the wonderful experiences of the Brahman and about the book he had come in possession of. They showed his book to their Chief, named Daryádeva. Daryádeva ordered the people to act according to the instructions contained in the book, which they did, and thereby enjoyed complete immunity from the oppressions of demons and from the inclemency of cold weather, and began to live in Kashmir all the year round.

It is said that before Kaliyuga there was in Kashmir an established form of government and many great and good kings reigned in it. One of these kings was Parasráma, the extirpator of the Kshatranya race. Some say that Ráma, the hero of Rámáyana, conquered Kashmir and visited it several times. There are four springs on a hill at Báramulla which are called Ráma-kund, Sitá-kund, Lakshman-kund and Hunumán-kund. In olden times there used to be a temple of Ráma there. In the extreme west of the Naiharai Purganah at village Milyál there are four more springs of the same names, and at some distance above is a place where there is a large sculptured stone which is called the throne of Ráma. Lalitáditya, who ruled from 697 to 734 A.D., unearthed a temple at Shira-wardan on the door of which was an inscription to the effect that it had been built by Ráma and his brother Lakshman. Running from the Kájinág range to the low-lying land near the Jhelum is a long low spur where there are two cut stones of octagonal section which stand over four feet out of the ground. The inhabitants of this place have a legend that these two stones are the arrows shot by Ráma and his brother Lakshman.

In course of time the population increased and several villages were peopled. The headman of each village became nominal ruler of his village. As the time advanced more villages sprang up, and then there were more than one village under a headman. These headmen, in order to be safe and defend themselves from one another's attacks, built fortresses on elevated spots, and these were named Kots. And each Kot was under a Kot Rája. Some names of these Kots are known up to the present time, such as Indarkot, Zainakot, Shirakot, Sudrakot, Dadarkot, Butakot, etc. The chiefs of these Kots were called Sanz. For a very long period there was this form of Kotaráj government in Kashmir. Afterwards some Kota Rájas subdued others and there was constant warfare between them. The conqueror used to sack the villages of the subdued Rájas. At last some Rájas, who had lost their Kots, went to the Rája of Jammu and entreated him to come over to take Kashmir

and deliver the country from anarchy that was prevailing, and promised to pay him the sixth part of the revenue for maintenance of peace and good government. The Rájá of Jammu sent his own son, named Dayákarana, with a large force who defeated the insurgents and became supreme ruler of Kashmir.

PART II.—HINDU PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Rájatarangini, the Sanskrit history of Kashmir, written by Kalhana, is one of the oldest historical records in the world. Much interest was and is being taken by many scientists in its study. This history begins with a king named Gonanda I, and continuing the accounts of his son and successor, Dámudara, and of the latter's wife, Yashovati, who reigned as Queen Regent after her husband's death until her son, Gonanda II, attained to majority, and of Gonanda II, it says that the accounts of 35 kings of Kashmir are lost and unknown, and leaving this gap continues again. Hasan, a historian of Kashmir in Persian, however, says that Zainulábdin, who reigned in Kashmir from 1423 to 1474 A.D., got a translation of the Rájatarangini done in Persian by Mullah Ahmad who was poet-laureate of his court. For this purpose Zainulábdin made a search for Puránas and Taranginis of ancient writers. The names of more than 15 different Rájataranginis were then known, but the ruthless hands of Zulchu (1323 A.D.) and Sikandar, the iconoclast (1393-1416 A.D.), had destroyed all old books of Hindus. With great efforts, however, only the Rájataranginis of Kalhana, Khimendra, Wachhulákar, and Padmamihar were obtained. Out of these, Khimendra's Rájatarangini was found replete with inaccuracies, but from other Rájataranginis the translation was completed. A few years later, some birch bark leaves of an old Rájatarangini, written by Pandit Ratnákar, called Ratnákar Purána, were, through the exertions of one Praja Pandit, obtained. From these leaves the account of 35 kings who had ruled in Kashmir in the beginning of the Kaliyuga age, whom Kalhana, owing to want of any record, had omitted from his book, was found out. This discovery gave much pleasure to all, and Zainulábdin had the facts, that were recorded in the Ratnákar Purána, inserted in his translation of the Rájatarangini.

The Ratnákar Purána is not now to be found anywhere, nor even the translation of the Rájatarangini by Mullah Ahmad, but Hasan says he has embodied the accounts of the 35 lost kings from Mullah Ahmad's translation. It is said that Hasan had obtained a copy of this translation from a Kashmiri emigrant at Ráwalpindi, but one day, when he was going in a boat in

the city of Srinagar, it so happened that his boat capsized and both he and the book were thrown into the water, he being rescued and saved but without the book. Hasan is now dead, and it is not known from which man at Ráwalpindi he had obtained the copy.

Be that as it may, the accounts given by him of these lost kings do not appear to be unfounded. There are legends current among the people which quite coincide with these accounts—legends of which there is no mention whatever in Kalhana's Rájatarangini.

For instance, the Kashmiris say that kings belonging to the Pándava dynasty have ruled over Kashmir; and 23 of these "lost" kings do belong to the Pándava dynasty. The ruins on the Mártand plateau are popularly called Pándav-Lar or the building of the Pándavas, and the king, who according to Hasan built it, is Rámadeva, one of the descendants of Pándavas.

Dr. Stein says that it was built by Lalitáditya on the authority of verse 192 of Book IV of the Rájatarangini, but I consulted several learned Pandits in Kashmir and they are unanimous in saying that he has erroneously interpreted the text.

The text is :—

सोऽखण्डिताश्च प्राकारं प्रासादान्तर्बधत च ।

मार्तण्डस्याद्भुतं दाता दात्ता स्तौतं च पतनम् ॥

of which Dr. Stein gives the following translation :—

"That liberal (king) built the wonderful (shrine) of Mártanda with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure (*prásádántar*) and its town swelling with grapes."

Mr. J. H. Marshall, the Archæological Superintendent of the Frontier Circle (Government of India), also acknowledges in a note on the Archæological work in Kashmir that Dr. Stein's rendering is doubtful. He says—

"Now the manifest difficulty with Dr. Stein's translation is his supplying of the word for "Shrine." If the passage had occurred in a list of Lalitáditya's foundations or in any similar context where the word *mandiram* or some equivalent could have been drawn naturally from the preceding stanzas, its omission here would be nothing unusual and would not have constituted a difficulty. But unfortunately the stanza immediately preceding IV, 192 has nothing to do with temples, but recounts merely certain irrigation works. It is true that IV, 190 does speak of the erection of a temple, but it is at best bold to carry over the word from this stanza and supply it in 192. Again the usual meaning of the word *prákára* is "enclosure" or "rampart," i.e., a wall in the sense of a city wall or something of that sort, not a house or temple wall, whereas *prásáda*

usually means a lofty building, palace or temple. The passage, therefore, is not an easy one, and its interpretation is distinctly open to doubt."

The best Sanskrit scholars in Kashmir fully corroborate the renderings given to Mr. Marshall by Pandit Mukand Rám (who worked on the *Rájatarangini* for Dr. Stein), which are as follows :—

(1) And that liberal (king) built Mártanda near to the temple (*prasádántar*) of the wonderful city with its wall of massive stones and a park (*pattan*) full of vines.

(2) And that liberal (king) built the wonderful Mártanda colonnade, of massive stones with the temple inside, and also the town rich in grapes.

On these renderings Mr. Marshall makes the following observations :—

(1st rendering).—"This restores the word *prákára* to its more usual meaning and gives us a word for temple in *prasáda*. The objections to it are (a) the rendering of *antar* by "near," which is not authorized meaning for the word, and (b) the omission of the second connective, the *cha* in '*dráksháspitam cha pattanam*', and these objections would appear fatal, on grammatical grounds."

But a reference to a Sanskrit *Kusha*, for instance the *Shabda-Kalpadrūm*, will show that the meaning of *antar* is "near." "Also" has been omitted in the translation by Pandit Mukand Rám, which I have now given in italics, and this disposes of the objection for *cha*.

(2nd rendering).—"This takes both the connectives into account, and assigns the usual meanings to both *prákára* and *prasáda*, but the compound *prasádántar* as a *bahuvrihi*, meaning "having a temple in the interior," is distinctly difficult and no parallels to it can be traced. Otherwise, and if this form of compound with *antar* can be established, there would be little or no objection to this rendering."

But the Sanskrit grammarians in Kashmir say that such *bahuvrihis* do often occur and that there are many parallels to it.

It is clear from the above that there existed already a temple on the Mártanda plateau before the time of Lalitáditya.

The Kashmiris say that there was a city at the place where the Vular lake now rests, and recite a story which strikingly agrees with the accounts given in the above-mentioned history.

Nalsena in Kashmiri language is synonymous with a person of abominable character, and nobody knew why it was so. Nalsena is one of these 35 kings. He was a cruel and oppressive king and was, therefore, universally detested by his subjects.

"Lolare Bambro" is a favourite love-song among the Kashmiris but nobody knew its origin. Bambro was one of these

35 kings. He fell in love with a woman named Lolare and was so enamoured with her that he abdicated the throne in order to spend his life with his beloved.

Himál Nági-Arjuna is a popular love-story and its origin is traced in the accounts of one of these "lost" kings.

It is not only these 35 kings that Hasan gives full accounts of, but he mentions, on the authority of the Ratnākar Purāna, seven more kings later on, whose account is not to be found in Kalhana's Rājatarangini. According to him, Ranāditya's rule did not extend over 300 years as stated by Kalhana, which is, on the face of it, preposterous (see Dr. Stein's introduction to Kalhana's Chronicle, page 86), but over only 60 years and 3 months, and that six kings preceded, and one king followed him, the account of whose rule he gives in detail, but whom Kalhana has omitted. Among these 7 kings comes Vaināditya, and it is noteworthy that even up to now his name is a household word among the Kashmiris and he is remembered as to have been a most virtuous and noble king of Kashmir. There occurs in Kalhana's Rājatarangini (Book V, 97-100) a temple by the name of Vainyā-svāmin about whose founder no mention is made therein anywhere, but it shows that there had been a king of the name of Vainyāditya who had built it.

Hasan puts the date of accession of Gonanda I. as 20 years before Kaliyuga (3120 B.C.), while Kalhana puts it 653 after Kaliyuga (2448 B.C.) on the authority of Varāhmihira's Brahat Samhita. It is an admitted fact that Gonanda I. was a contemporary of Krishna, the hero of Mahābhārata. Srimat Bhāgwat Ikādashskand says that Krishna in his last days told Udhava:

यद्देवायं मया त्यक्तो लोकोऽयं नष्टमङ्गलः ।

भविष्यति चिरात्साधो कलिनाऽपि निरीक्षितः ॥ २ ॥

"When I shall depart from this world affliction will overtake it, and after sometime the Kaliyuga will also witness this, i.e., after sometime the Kaliyuga will have begun." Kalhana says that the Munis (the Great Bear) were at the Maghah Nakshatra when Rāja Yudhishtira, a contemporary of Krishna, was ruling the earth. In Srimat Bhāgwat, Part XII, Chapter II, is written that when the Munis were at the Maghah Nakshatra, Kaliyuga commenced, and that when Krishna ascended heaven the same day did Kaliyuga begin. The Kaliyuga era is 3101 B.C.

Mr. Har Bilas Sarada, B.A., F.R.S.L., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, mentions in his "Hindu Superiority," page 143-44 :—

"Bradhgargh Muni holds that the Saptarishis were in the Maghah Nakshatra at the junction of the Dvāpar and the Kaliyug. He says :—

कलि द्वापर संधौ तु स्थितास्ते पिष्ट दैवतम् । (मघाः)
मुनयोः धर्मनिरताः प्रजानां पालने रताः ॥

“ According to him, therefore, Yudhishtira flourished at the beginning of the Kaliyug.

“ An inscription in a Jain temple on a hill near Yahola, Kaladaggi district, Deccan, says that the temple, built by King Pulkeshi II, of the Chalukya family, was erected 3735 years after the Mahábhárata, and when 556 years of the Saka era had passed, thus proving that the Great War took place $3735-556=3179$ years before the Saka era ; in other words $3179 + 1828$ (Saka era) = 5007 years ago. The inscription runs as follows :—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाह वादितः ।

सप्ताब्दघातयुक्तेषु श(ग)तेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥ (३७३५)

यं चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च । (५५६)

समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

“ Following evidently the view held by Bradhgargh Muni, the author of the Ayeen-i-Akbari says that Vikramáditya ascended the throne in the 3044th year of the Yudhishtira era. This also makes the Yudhishtira era begin $3044 + 1963$ (Vikrama era) 5,007 years ago.”

It is also popularly said, and even in Kalhana's time it was commonly believed, that the Bhárata war took place at the end of Dvápára Yuga (Rájatarangini. Book I, verses 48 and 49).

In the introduction to Metákshara by Bápudeva Shástri, the famous astronomer, is written that during the first century of Kaliyuga, Parikshit was born. Parikshit was grandson of Arjuna, the brother of Yudhishtira. It is also recorded in the same introduction that at the beginning of the reign of Janmejaya, only 125 years of Kaliyuga had elapsed. Janmejaya was the great-grandson of Arjuna. Tára Nátha Tarkaváchaspati, late Principal of Free Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and the well-known author of Brahatabhidhán and other books in Sanskrit, has also, after making researches, written in his introduction to Sarala, the commentary of Sidhántakaumadi, that Parikshit was born when only 80 years of Kaliyuga had elapsed.

An important confirmation of this hypothesis is added from the following: About 1,300 years ago, when the great work on astronomy, namely, Khandakhádi, was written by Brahmagupta in which its author gives authority of Arya Bat, the famous astronomer of ancient times. This book is

considered a greater authority on astronomy than Varáhamihira's Samhita, and in it occurs the following Sloka :—

युधिष्ठिरोविक्रमशालि बाह्वनौ
नराधिनाथो विजयाभिनन्दनः ।
ततोऽनुनागार्जुन मेदिनीपति र्वलिः
क्रमात् षट्शककारकाःकलौ ॥ १ ॥
युधिष्ठिराद्देवयुगाम्बराग्रयः
कदम्बविश्वाम्भखखाऽष्टभूमयः ।
यच्चायुतं लक्षचतुष्टयं क्रमा-
द्भरादृगष्टाविति शाकवत्सराः ॥ १ ॥

The total period of the Kaliyuga age is 4,32,000 years, and according to Khandakhádi it is divided into the following six eras :—

Yudhishtira	..	..	3,044
Vikramáditya	..	..	135
Sháliváhana	..	..	18,000
Vijayávinandana	..	..	10,000
Nági Arjuna	..	..	4,00,000
Balidánava	..	..	821

It is evident that down to Vikramáditya's time 3,044 years of Kaliyuga, after Yudhishtira's accession, had passed. Vikramáditya's era is now 1967, and if we add these together they amount to 5011, which exactly is now the Kaliyuga era. It therefore shows that Yudhishtira was ruling in the beginning of Kaliyuga.

Nirnai-Sindhu, another book of authority on astronomy, contains the following stanza :—

वर्षसहस्रत्रितयं शतमेकं सप्ततिर्नवाग्रा च ।
शककालयातमिश्रं कलेर्गतं धर्मपुत्रात् ॥ १ ॥

It states that to find out how much period passed since Kaliyuga began and Yudhishtira lived, 3179 should be added to the Saka era. The Saka at present being 1832, it comes to 5011 years.

Professor Dunker also says (History of Antiquity, vol. iv, page 219) :—“The era of Yudhishtira is said to have preceded that of Vikramátditya by the space of 3044 years, and to have commenced about 3100 B.C.”

On the other hand, Kalhana's chronology has been proved at length to be inaccurate by Dr. M. A. Stein in the introduction

to his English translation of the *Rájatarangini* (Chapter IV, Sections II and III).

So Hasan's date does not seem to be incorrect and all that he has written seems to be based on good authority.

CHAPTER II.

1. GONANDA I—3120–3103 B.C.

Gonanda became king of Kashmir in 3120 B.C. He was one of the relations of Jarásandha, king of Magadha. He was a good and just king. When Jarásandha was at war with Krishna, on the bank of the river Jamuna, Gonanda's army fought bravely for some time, but was at last routed and he himself was killed by Balabhadra, brother of Krishna. Gonanda I. reigned for 17 years.

2. DĀMODARA I—3103–3090 B.C.

After Gonanda's death his son, Dāmodara, sat on the throne in 3103 B.C. He was always brooding over his father's death. In those days *Svayamvara* or "maiden's own choice" of the daughter of the king of Kandahār (Gándhāra) was proclaimed at the banks of the Indus. Dāmodara heard the Yādavas had also been invited on the occasion, and he, therefore, left to meet them and fight with them in order to avenge his father's death. He fought but was killed by Krishna. His wife, Yashovati, who was pregnant, was, by order of Krishna, made queen regent of Kashmir. Dāmodara's reign extended over a period of 13 years.

3. YASHOVATI—3090–3075 B.C.

Rāni Yashovati was declared queen of Kashmir in 3090 B.C. As she was pregnant she gave birth to a son whom she named Gonanda II. She reigned for 15 years.

4. GONANDA II—3075–3035 B.C.

Gonanda II., when yet a boy, was, by council of the ministers, crowned as king of Kashmir in 3075 B.C. About this time the great war of Mahābhārata occurred, and as Gonanda II. was a young prince he was not invited to assist by either the Kauravas or Pāndavas. He was caused to be slain by Harnadeva, his Prime Minister, having reigned for 40 years.

CHAPTER III.—PĀNDAVA DYNASTY.

5. HARNADEVA—3035–3005 B.C.

Harnadeva, the second son of Parikshit, grandson of Arjuna, the third brother of Pāndavas, vainly contended with his brother,

Janmejaya, for some time for the kingdom of Hastinápura or modern Delhi. When he could not withstand his brother, Harnadeva fled with a company of his men towards the hills of Chamba. Here he found an ascetic practising austere penances in a cave. Harnadeva, who had just been defeated by his brother and was, therefore, much disappointed, went to the hermit and remained as an attendant on him. One day the holy man was pleased with him and delighted him by foretelling that he was to become king of Kashmir. Harnadeva, trusting on the holy man's words, proceeded with his men to Kashmir, travelling over the mountains in the east of the valley, and got service in the army of Gonanda II. who was then the king of Kashmir. By dint of his abilities, he gradually rose to the office of Prime Minister. He pleased the commandants of the army and the other ministers by his liberality, but, blinded with selfishness, became unfaithful to his master: On finding an opportunity, he caused king Gonanda II. to be slain by his men, and then, supported by the courtiers, usurped the throne. By his generous disposition, he won the hearts of all and was renowned for justice. He had firm control over all parts of the country, and the peace that prevailed gave the country time to grow prosperous. The treasury was full, and Harnadeva maintained a large and strong army. He reigned for 30 years and then died.

6. RÁMADEVA—3005–2936 B.C.

His son, Rámadeva, sat on the throne in 3005 B.C. He did much to maintain order and good government. Out of generosity he fixed only the tenth part of the produce of land as his share. He founded a large city, called Bábul, on the plateau of Mattan which comprised eleven lakhs of houses, and built there the temple of Mártandeshvara (the ruins of which are now to be seen) with large ornamented and beautifully carved stones, erecting it to a height of over 50 yards. The stones were hewn superfine and the joints made imperceptible, the whole building looking as if one solid block. Some stones of this temple are three to eight yards in length and one yard in thickness and one to five yards in width, and it is surprising how they have been brought here and piled up. He enclosed the compound of the temple with a wall, having on all its four sides beautiful niches and a row of one hundred and ninety couples of octagonal pillars. A stream was excavated from the mountain of Khávurpura and brought for this city. He conquered the Punjáb, Kábul and Multán, and then advanced to Márwár; took the latter country from the possession of Kachwahs and filled his harem with the daughters of Kachwah Chiefs. After this he marched to Lucknow, conquered it and ceded it to his nephew. From that place he brought a large amount of spoil and then went to Kanauj where, after staying

for two years, marched his army to Málwah and took it. Many cities were founded by him. He married the daughter of Shiva Rái, ruler of Gándhára (Kandahár), and passed two years in that country. He then proceeded towards the Shwálik mountains and made the Chief of those places give him tribute. He fought a battle with the ruler of Kumaon and subdued him, but eventually having married his daughter gave the country back to him. Then he marched to Nagarkot, a mountain fortress between the sources of the Rávi (Hydraotes) and the Byás (Hyphasis), and, after capturing it, went to Hankot, and thence proceeded to make pilgrimage of the goddess Durga. The ruler of that place made allegiance and gave him presents. He married the daughter of the Chief of Nagarkot to his son. Thence he marched to Jammu, the ruler of which place did not at first submit and rose to oppose him, but was at last defeated by him. He made many people slaves and with much wealth returned to Kashmir. After staying in Kashmir for two years he again went to India and travelled from Multán to Bengál along the shores of the Indian Ocean and made *en route* about 500 chieftains give him tribute. He then returned *viâ* Kanauj and came to Kashmir with a large amount of wealth. Here a large public assembly was held by him in which gifts were given to brave men and the third part of his booty was distributed among the people. During his lifetime he gave away three lakhs of cows in charity and used to take much care of religious men. Two ascetics, one named Háru and the other Máru, who had come from Silhet, used to accompany him wherever he was leading his army for invasion. They had power to make themselves invisible when sitting in company of people and then visible at their will, and would not eat or sleep for days together.

Rámadeva reigned for 69 years, and then, giving over the kingdom to his son, clothed himself in a stag fur and sat with his spiritual leaders (Háru and Máru) in the temple of Páartheshvara on the Bhawan spring for ten years and then disappeared with them, leaving no trace of himself behind.

7. VYÁSDEVA—2936–2880 B.C.

Vyásdeva assumed the reins of government in 2936 B.C. He was, like his father, a just and generous ruler. He invited learned men from India; promoted the learning; established the schools; and was always intent on promoting the welfare of the soldier and the ryot. The reservoir, which his father had brought through the city of Bábul, was stopping in winter owing to water being frozen, therefore the king, for the benefit of the people, constructed within the city a large and deep tank of pucca masonry with stone steps on all its sides.

He went to India in the attire of a fakir to make pilgrimages

of holy places, and spent lakhs. At that time, king Jaswant of Márwár had proclaimed *svayamvara* (maiden's own choice) of his daughter named Kálabhawáni. Vyásdeva went alone at this ceremony. The bride saw him from afar and chose him as her husband. He married her and returned to Kashmir with much wealth. He brought one thousand gold and silver images of Shiva and 99,000 *Sáligrams* (emblems of Vishnu) and placed them in the temple of Mártándeshvara and other places of worship. His reign extended over 56 years.

8. DRUNA—2880-2822 B.C.

After his father's death, Druna ascended the throne. He used to dress himself like a fakir and sit at the door of his father's temple, where he was from morning to evening attending to public affairs. He was so good and merciful that he would not fine a guilty person more than a couple of pice. In order to overawe the oppressors, however, he had erected a plough press near himself, but throughout his lifetime he pressed to death only one man; and thenceforward none dared molest anybody. He was a strict vegetarian but was not devoting his time to worshipping, saying that administering justice was more virtuous than worshipping. Theft and crime were unknown in his time, and the people were in the enjoyment of tranquillity and peace. His wife, Márgidevi, built the temple of Márgeshvara at the village of Kuther. He died after reigning for 58 years.

9. SIMHADEVA—2822-2768 B.C.

Simhadeva succeeded his father in 2822 B.C. He was a good and generous ruler. He spent his whole life in worshipping; never touched flesh meat; founded many villages and built many temples. The village Simhpur was founded by him. The population increased so much that people went to live in hills and high lands. His cousin, named Vishága, fell in love with the daughter of a farmer and forcibly took hold of the girl. The just king, on hearing this, summoned this wicked relative in his presence and put him to death. Vishága's mother, not bearing the sorrow of her son's death, burned herself alive on his funeral pile. By this horrible event the gentle heart of the good king was greatly affected, so much so that he died of grief in only four days after this occurrence. He ruled for 54 years.

10. GOPÁLDEVA—2768-2755 B.C.

Gopáldeva succeeded his father in 2768 B.C. He suffered from a painful disease, which weakened both his mind and body, and could not, therefore, take the duties and responsibilities of a ruler upon himself. He entrusted manage-

ment of public affairs to his minister, named Shashopál. At this time the Chief of Khuttan declared war with the Chief of Káshgar who was brother-in-law of Gopáldeva. The Chief of Káshgar was killed in the battle and the possession of his country was taken by the conqueror. Thereupon Shashopál went with a large army to avenge the death of his master's relation and was met by the enemy's army near a mountain called Tong. Shashopál's troops were at the foot of the mountain and were destroyed by stones rolled down by the enemy from above. On hearing this news, Gopáldeva, who was already infirm-bodied, became broken-hearted and shortly died of liver disease. His period of reign was 13 years and three months.

11. VIJAYANANDA—2755-2730 B.C.

Vijayananda, younger brother of Gopáldeva, now became king. He, after putting the government in order, went personally at the head of 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry towards Káshgar and fought a decisive battle with the Chief of Khuttan, defeated him and took possession of Káshgar and Khuttan. Peace was afterwards concluded, the Chief of Khuttan giving him his daughter named Sumran Ráni in marriage, and then Vijayananda restored Khuttan to him and returned to Kashmir. He maintained peace on frontiers and managed the affairs of the country with justice. He built a grand temple of Vijayeshvara at Bijbihára, in which he had placed a cow suspending by magic power or talism. Ten lakhs of gold mohars were spent on the construction of this temple. He reigned for 25 years.

12. SUKHADEVA—2730-2686 B.C.

Sukhadeva, son of Gopáldeva, succeeded in 2730 B.C. Being a pleasure-loving king he was always busy in sports and merriments, having entrusted management of public affairs to Rāma Nanda, son of Vijayananda. As a consequence, slackness occurred in the administration, and, by it, weakness of power. The territories belonging to the kingdom in the Punjáb were seized by Chitrath, king of Delhi, and the Province of Turkistán was also lost. The treasury, and with it the army decreased. Rāma Nanda also got disloyal and rebellious and caught Sukhadeva while hunting in the mountains of Amarnáth and drowned him in the Liddar river; and then declared himself king of Kashmir. Sukhadeva's rule extended over 44 years.

13. RĀMA NANDA—2686-2629 B.C.

Rāma Nanda sat on the throne in 2686 B.C. He kept the frontiers under control; subjugated the ruler of Jammu; and invaded Nagarkot. The peasant had to give one-fifth of

the produce as government share. He put to death several rebellious men and established his power all over the kingdom. The people were happy under his firm rule, which lasted for 57 years.

14. SANDIMÁN—2629—2564 B.C.

His son, Sandimán, succeeded in 2629 B.C. He was renowned for justice. He founded a big city at the place which now forms the bed of the Vular Lake, calling it after his own name Sandimatnagar, which is even to the present time popularly known by the name of Salábatnagar. The river Jhelum was flowing through this city, and he built many grand houses on its banks. He constructed 21 temples of stone, out of which the temple of Mahádeva was exquisitely fine and imposing, and placed in it 300 gold and silver images of Mahádeva, out of which two images were set with jewels. The temple of Zeshteshvara on the Sulimán hill, which is yet extant, was originally built by him. Sulimán hill, or Takht-i-Sulimán as it is popularly called, must be, from the fact that Sandimán built the temple on it, a corruption of Sandimán hill.

He marched with a large army to India; invaded countries as far as Kanauj; and after visiting many shrines and notable places returned, going to Kábul and Kandahár. The king of Kandahár solicited to be accepted under his suzerainty and gave his daughter, Pártidevi, in marriage to him. He then returned from there, but, while crossing the river Attock, his boat capsized and Pártidevi was drowned. The king became much afflicted at her loss, but the ruler of Kandahár sent his second daughter to him and thus beguiled his sorrow. Sandimán ruled for 65 years.

15 & 16. MARHANDEVA & KÁMANDEVA—2564—2509 B.C.

After his father's death in 2564 B.C., Marhandeva came to the throne and made his younger brother, Kámandeva, his minister. After some time the two brothers grew hostile to each other and eventually were at war. The nobles of the kingdom then interposed and divided the country between them, giving the South-Eastern half to Marhandeva and North-Eastern to Kámandeva. Marhandeva founded the village Marháma and built a big temple there. He was a just and generous ruler and his subjects were happy under him. Kámandeva made Sandimatnagar his capital. He was a tyrant and the people were hard pressed. He exiled many people who took refuge in the tracts governed in peace by Marhandeva. During that time a large comet appeared in the sky which was shining very bright at night. In the same year rain fell heavily and a huge snake appeared at Chakdar which, however, died in a couple of days, but his carcase did not go till one year. From

that time the tract owned by Marhandeva was called Marhan Ráj, and that by Kámandeva, Káman Ráj, and in course of time these names were shortened into Maráj and Kámráj, by which names they are at present known. Marhandeva ruled for 55 years.

17. CHANDARDEVA—2509-2457 B.C.

Chandardeva, who succeeded his father in 2509 B.C., planned a conspiracy for entrapping Kámandeva and was successful in it. He slew Kámandeva and put his son, Vargadeva, in prison. Having eased himself from fear of enemies, he fell in debauchery and indolence and in consequence anarchy ensued. He filled his harem with 360 wives and was with one each day of the (lunar) year by turn. His reign extended over 52 years.

18. ANANDA—2457-2429 B.C.

Ananda, brother of Chandardeva, succeeded to the throne in 2457 B.C. Being a cruel king he would hang men even for trivial offences. He died after ruling for 28 years.

19. DRUPADADEVA—2429-2378 B.C.

Ananda's son, Drupadadeva, ascended the throne. Unlike his father, he was generous and cherisher of his subjects. He built a temple of Jwálámukhi at the village of Shár. So strong was he that one day he saw a stone on the way which was over 100 maunds in weight, and he pushed it to one side by his left hand. His brother, Harnámdeva, rebelled against him and there was war between them, in which Drupadadeva received an arrow in his eye and was killed. His rule extended over 51 years.

20. HARNÁMDEVA—2378-2329 B.C.

Harnámdeva, triumphant from the battle, seized the throne, but soon plunged into the whirl of luxury and indolence. He was so fond of liquors that he planted vineyards in many places and started distilleries, inducing every person, whether great or low, to drink. In his own palace compound he had a pond filled, out of which the liquor was profusely distributed and drunk. While under the influence of intoxication he was sitting to administer justice and was, as might be expected, awarding most severe punishments. He was taking away by force women of the people. At last his Commander-in-Chief, named Durga, revolted and declared war against him. After much blood-shed, Durga won the field and burned the palace and a part of the city of Bábul. Thereupon the people of the city united together and fell upon Durga's army which they defeated and also killed Durga. Thus saved by his people, Harnámdeva gave manifestation to his gratitude by remitting two

years' revenue of the whole country. After some time Durga's son, named Rangu, in order to avenge his father's death, went with some of his companions and caught the king while hunting in a jungle and killed him. Harnámdeva's period of reign was 39 years.

21. SULKANDEVA—2329–2311 B.C.

After his father's death Sulkandeva sat on the throne. He was a pleasure-loving king but was administering justice impartially. Saturday he had allotted for public affairs and the rest of the week he used to spend in nothing but luxury. His rule extended over 28 years.

22. SINÁDITYA—2311–2294 B.C.

Sináditya succeeded his father in 2311 B.C. He was a foolish and a snappish king. One day he was looking his face in a mirror and his wife was unfortunately resting her head on his shoulder and her face reflected in the mirror. On this the king upbraided her, saying that she might be having intimacy with the person in the mirror, and cut off her nose there and then. It is said he ordered his minister to get for him a virgin of paradise. The minister, fearing that he would lose his life if he did not satisfy his master's wish, brought him a pretty girl, nicely dressed and wearing ornaments, and told him that she was the daughter of the lord of paradise, but ten million *dinárs* were asked for her. The foolish king at once gave the money to the minister and took the girl. The minister was the *de facto* ruler, the king being ruler only in name. Sináditya was killed by his brother after 17 years of his accession to the throne.

23. MANGALÁDITYA—2294–2255 B.C.

Sináditya was assassinated in his bed-chamber by his brother, Mangaláditya, and then the latter was, by the help of the nobles of the kingdom, installed as king of Kashmir. Mangaláditya also proved himself a bad ruler. He encouraged plantation of vineyards and had stills started in every house in the country. He was addicted to merry-makings and also encouraged gambling in the country. In his time a mist appeared in the atmosphere, by inhaling which many people died. His reign lasted 39 years.

24. KHMENDRA—2255–2189 B.C.

Khimendra succeeded his father in 2255 B.C. He, after making his control stronger over the frontiers, also became luxurious and fond of hunting. It is said he had learnt an incantation and by its power used to enter the houses of the

people undetected and used to violate their women. One day he entered the house of his minister, Druna, and outraged his wife. There he forgetfully dropped his ring, which was afterward found by the minister. The latter recognized it to be the king's and was consequently much enraged, and at night caused the king to be slain by his own servants. The king ruled for 66 years.

25. BHIMSENA—2189–2128 B.C.

Khimendra's son, Bhimsena, was then proclaimed king of Kashmir. He was a wild, reckless prince and a drunkard. He enhanced the taxes in the country and introduced many oppressive measures. He built the temple of Kotesvara on the bank of the Jhelum and founded the village Simpur. As the Chief of Khuttan had previously invaded Káshgar, Bhimsena sent his troops to reconquer that country, but when the troops were crossing the Kurákoram mountains, they were overtaken by a snow-storm in which they all perished and not even one soul survived. During that time a magician, named Turjan, came in Kashmir from India, who used by his magic power to make people sick and then was coming before the same persons as physician and after taking money from them was curing them. One day he made the Ráni of the king sick by his magic power and took from the king one thousand *ashrafis* and then cured her. He had a pupil who disclosed his mystery. The king got to know of this, and he at last hanged that magician. It is said that the magician appeared like a swine on the gallows. The king ruled for 61 years and 7 months and then died.

26. INDRASENA—2128–2082 B.C.

Bhimsena's son, Indrasena, now sat on the throne. He also encouraged gambling and drinking. In his time the people were so far demoralized that the name of God was forgotten and the most heinous acts were perpetrated by them. The king was always busy with revelries, and the public affairs were managed by his minister, Surendra. But the king after some time got dissatisfied with his minister and dismissed him. The minister became desperate and turbulent, raised an army of his own and defeated the king in a battle, but in the meantime the minister accidentally tumbled down his horse and was caught by the soldiers of the king. The king, who was very much incensed against him, had his skin taken off his body and thus tortured him to death.

The Chief of Nagarkot also displayed a refractory spirit, and Indrasena sent a force to reduce him to obedience. The Chief of Nagarkot resisted but was killed in the battle.

Indrasena ruled for 46 years.

27. SUNDARSENA—2082–2041 B.C.

Indrasena's son, Sundarsena, sat on the throne in 2082 B.C. He indulged in debauchery, and the people also were demoralized to the highest degree. From the time of Harnámdeva, each successive ruler was a debauchee. The people had become addicted to lying, drinking, and gambling. They had no moral sense and were behaving like brutes. Then appeared a hermit, a potter by profession, whose name was Nanda Gupta. He preached to the people inhabiting the city of Sandimatnagar, exhorting them against sinful deeds, but nobody would listen to him; on the contrary, he was ridiculed and molested. The potter then took refuge on a hill which is now called Králasangar or potter's hill. One night a destructive earthquake occurred by which the earth in the middle of the city was rift and water gushed out in a flood and soon submerged the whole city. By the same earthquake a knoll of the hill at Báramulla near Khádanyar tumbled down, which choked the outlet of the river Jhelum and, consequently, the water rose high at once and drowned the whole city together with its king and the inhabitants. This submerged city forms the bed of the Vular Lake.

Sundersena reigned for 41 years; and with him ended the Pándava dynasty, 23 descendants of which ruled for nearly one thousand years in Kashmir. After this there was no king in Kashmir for an interval of two months. Those who had survived the deluge by taking shelter on high places on the foot of the adjacent hills, came together and elected Lava, who was a relative of the ruler of Málwah and was a Jagir holder at Loláb, as king of Kashmir.

The foregoing 23 kings of Pándava dynasty are among the 35 so-called lost kings of Kashmir. Kalhana says that after Gonanda II. to the time when Lava ascended the throne these 35 kings have ruled, but according to Hasan, on the authority of Ratnákár, it is not so. After Sundarsena, the 23rd of these kings, Lava has come to the throne, and then after the successive reigns of 7 kings, the last of whom was Sachinara, the remaining twelve kings out of these 35 ruled over the land.

CHAPTER IV.

28. LAVA—2041–1981 B.C.

Lava was crowned king of Kashmir by the burgesses of the country in 2041 B.C. He was a powerful ruler and held the frontiers quiet and free from foreign aggression. He founded a large city, named Lolau, in the Loláb valley, which contained eighty-four lakhs of houses according to Kalhana, but eighty thousand according to Ratnákár. He bestowed on the Bráhmans the village Levara now called Levar, on the Liddar river. He reigned for 60 years.

29. KUSHA—1981-1794 B.C.

Lava's son, Kusha, succeeded in 1981 B.C. He granted the village Karuhara now known by the name of Kolar to the Brahmans, and ruled for 7 years.

30. KHAGENDRA—1974-1944 B.C.

Kusha's son, Khagendra, succeeded in 1944 B.C. He founded Khági and Khonamusha, now called Kákapur and Khunmuh respectively, and died after reigning for 30 years.

31. SURENDRA—1944-1901 B.C.

Surendra succeeded his father, Khagendra, in 1944 B.C. He founded a town in the Dravad country calling it Soraka, and a village named Narendrabhavana. In his own kingdom he founded the village Saurasa which is now called Shurat in Deosar.

He ruled for 43 years and died issueless.

32. GUDHARA—1901-1864 B.C.

Gudhara, who belonged to a different dynasty, now took the throne. Being a noble-minded and pious king he bestowed on the Brahmans the villages Godhara and Hastishala, now known by the names of Godar and Hastihel, in Deosar.

His reign lasted 37 years.

33. SUVARNA—1864-1829 B.C.

Suvarna succeeded his father in 1864 B.C. He brought to Krala now called Ardavani or Advin the canal called Suvarnamani (Sunamani-kul) for its irrigation. This canal flows even to this time along the east of Zainapur plateau. Suvarna was a good and benevolent king and reigned for 35 years.

34. JANAKA—1829-1797 B.C.

Janaka succeeded his father in 1829 B.C. and was, like his father, a good king. He founded two villages, called Jalora (Zalur) in Zainagir and Vihu, and ruled for 32 years.

35. SACHINARA—1797-1757 B.C.

Sachinara, son of Janaka, succeeded in 1797 B.C. He was a strong king and of forgiving disposition. He founded the village Shamangasa (Shángas in Kuthár) and the village Shánara (Shár in Vihu). His rule extended over 40 years.

After Sachinara come successively the remaining twelve

of the 35 so-called lost kings, the first of whom is Galgendra and the last, Bhagwant.

CHAPTER V.

36. GALGENDRA—1757-1712 B.C.

Galgendra, nephew of Sachinara, succeeded. He was reputed for justice. He framed a code of laws and brought it into force. In Maráj he founded on a plateau a large city named Naunagar, which is said to have contained 13,00,000 houses, and brought from the river Rambíara a stream through the city. He built many temples in this city and reigned for 45 years.

37. BALADEVA—1712-1669 B.C.

Baladeva who succeeded his father in 1712 B.C. was a good and generous king. He founded the village Balapur Suparsuman. It is said that Bhigham, who was then king of Ujain or modern Delhi, sent a large army to invade Kashmir, which was totally routed by Baladeva. Baladeva had a daughter named Himál, and a man, named Nági Arjuna, fell in love with her. At last they were married, but soon after they became separated and suffered long the pangs of separation.

Himál and Nági Arjuna is still a popular love story in Kashmir.

Baladeva reigned for 43 years.

38. NALSENA—1669-1644 B.C.

Nalsena succeeded his father in 1669 B.C. He was a very tyrannical and cruel king. It is said that during the period of his rule this butcherly king put one lakh of people to death. This king was execrated and loathed throughout the country. Even to the present time, this name is remembered with abhorrence, and the word *Nalsen* has become synonymous with a man of abominable character. At last this terrible rule was cut short by the palace catching fire and Nalsena with all his family including three sons being burnt in the conflagration. His dreadful rule extended over 25 years.

39. GOKARNA—1644-1608 B.C.

Nalsena left no heir to the throne, they having all perished in the fire, and then the nobles of the kingdom elected Gukarna, who was from the family of the Jammu Rájas, and installed him as the king of Kashmir. This king was popular, being just and good-natured. He went to visit pilgrimages and shrines in India, and the king of Kanauj sent an army to oppose him, but eventually made peace with him. He visited many holy

places and gave lakhs of rupees in alms, and after three years returned to Kashmir. He built a grand temple of Shárkádevi at the foot of the Pradyumna-pitha, and the village Brand (Bren in Phák) was given as grant for the maintenance of this temple.

Gokarna ruled for 36 years.

40. PRAHLÁD—1608-1597 B.C.

His son, Prahlád, ascended the throne in 1608 B.C. He built the temple of Priteshvara on the Shirakut hill in Khuihama, formerly called Bu Sangri and now Bába Shukruddin hill. He became a disciple of a saint, named Druna, whose teachings produced such an effect on his mind that he retired from the world and became a Sanyási, giving the kingdom to his minister Bambru. He ruled for 11 years.

41. BAMBRU—1597-1589 B.C.

Bambru sat on the throne in 1597 B.C. He was a sagacious and benevolent ruler and everybody was pleased with his rule. But he shortly fell in love with his maternal cousin's wife, named Lolare, and used to cry out "Lo, Lo, Lo" day and night. Meanwhile Lolare also fell in love with him, but she was put under restraint by her people. Bambru died, and at the same time Lolare also breathed her last. Lolare Bambru is even to the present time a popular love song. Bambru ruled for 8 years.

42. PRATÁPASHILA—1589-1553 B.C.

Pratápashila, who was from the descendents of Galgendra, was after Bambru had abdicated the throne and become mad, elected by the nobles of the kingdom and crowned king of Kashmir. He ruled with justice. He founded the city at the foot of the hill in Vular, calling it after his own name Pratápa-Nagar, and built the temple of Pratábeshvara at Bhawan. It is said that a woman fell in love with him who eloped with him and never re-appeared. He reigned for 36 years.

43. SANGRÁM CHANDRA—1553-1552 B.C.

Pratápashila's son, Sangráam Chandra, succeeded him in 1553 B.C. He founded a village in Pattan, calling it after his own name Sangrámpura. His reign was good, but lasted only one year and 4 months, after which he died.

44. LÁRIK CHANDRA—1552-1521 B.C.

Lárik Chandra, brother of Pratápashila, now took the throne. He established order and good government. He built a large

city at the foot of the Vatargang hill, calling it after his own name Lárík-nagar (Lár), and brought a stream through it from the adjacent hill. The city was so dense and the houses were so contiguous that it is said that a kid got over the roof of a house at its eastern extremity, which went along from roof to roof and only descended at its western extremity. The stream Larkul which runs through the village Lár was excavated by him. He reigned for 31 years.

45. BIRAM CHANDRA—1521-1476 B.C.

His son, Biram Chandra, succeeded after his death in 1521 B.C. He was a good and pious king, being occupied day and night in worshipping. It is said that he used to bathe every morning at one hundred pilgrimages and worship at one hundred shrines. Whatever money came as revenue during the day he used to distribute among poor people at evening and nothing was kept by for next day. One evening, after he had distributed the day's income, a Brahman came and asked for alms. "Excuse this time," the king said, "come to-morrow and I will give you as much as you want." "It may be that Your Majesty dies during this night," the Brahman replied, "then who will supply my want?" On hearing this, the great charitable king gave himself up to the Brahman, telling the latter to sell him in the Bazar and get the money he could procure for him. The Brahman took him to the bazar where a merchant, recognizing the king, bought him for one thousand *ashrafis*. The king passed the night in the merchant's house, and the following morning, making himself known to him, offered one thousand *ashrafis* he had paid to the Brahman for him. "I have bought a king," he said humorously, "and shall I give him up without making any profit over the bargain?" The king offered ten thousand *ashrafis*, but the merchant refused it, saying that he would not part with him even for ten lakhs of *ashrafis*. "What ransom then do you want?" asked the king. "I want that Your Majesty will henceforth take the evening meal in my house all your life through," said this liberal-minded merchant, who wanted thus to make a name for himself, "then I have no claim whatever upon Your Majesty." The king consented to this, and thenceforth dined every evening in the merchant's house.

Under Biram Chandra's rule the country was most prosperous. He reigned for 45 years.

46. BABIGHANA—1476-1459 B.C.

After Biram Chandra's death in 1476 B.C. his son, Babighana, was acclaimed as king. He was not endowed with much intellect, but his wife Chakra Ráni was a very wise woman and

she maintained order in the kingdom, and directed public affairs with cleverness and sagacity. It is said that she used to make round in the city at night in disguise, in order to find out that nothing marred the peace in the land. One dark night, while on her usual night tour, she overheard an ascetic in a hut talking to his wife. The wife told him, "Chakra Ráni is a brave and wise woman and it is surprising that she goes about alone at night in disguise like a man. Had this wife been the husband and her husband the wife, she could work miracles." The ascetic replied, "May it be so." At the same time Chakra Ráni found in herself muscular power and she came to the ascetic, beseeching him that what he had just spoken should not happen. But the ascetic said that it could not be changed. She then returned to the palace and found her effeminate husband become more weak. Chakra Ráni told him all what the ascetic had said, and then the king was seized with intense grief and kept himself in seclusion for one month, after which he committed suicide by taking poison. Chakra Ráni then clad herself like a mendicant and spent her life with the ascetic by whose word all that misfortune had come about. Babighana's rule lasted 17 years.

47. BHAGWANT—1459-1445 B.C.

Bhagwant, brother of Babighana, was at the instance of Chakra Ráni, raised to the throne. His administration was good. He built three temples and died after reigning for 14 years.

With Bhagwant ends the history of the remaining twelve out of the 35 so-called lost kings of Kashmir.
